the dried lizard, scarcely a millimeter long, is pressed into the wound and rubbed in with charcoal. The snake wound is washed with water. [Picture. The "Jump Snake," Scelotes capensis Gthr., 1/2 natural size.] 752 825

The use of snake poison as an antidote for poisonous snake bites is perhaps also worthy of scientific investigation. 752 278

A Hottentot, who knew the poisonous snakes of his country well, made it a habit to pursue immediately the snake that had bitten him. He cut out its poison sacks and, squeezed a little of their contents into water and drank it. He dried the rest of the poison and preserved it carefully.

Another person drank the fresh bile of a cobra (called !huni- //hui- b) as a preventive against the poisonous effects of snake bites. This is not [751] an isolated instance, because men who do this are called /ao/!gã aon, i.e. snake poison men. People are certain that the skin secretions of such poison eaters (whether rightly or not must still be determined) heal poisonous snake bites. The poison eater rubs some of his sweat into a small cut made right next to the patient's bite. Or he dissolves what he has scraped off his skin in water and the man who has been bitten drinks it. Whoever has smelled the sweat-soaked clothing of a Hottentot will find the assertion plausible, that, if the sweat of poison eaters does have the power to heal, then [225] a little moisture squeezed from a piece of his clothing is effective.

Many Hottentots follow the same rule which the poison eater does (fighting the effect of the poison immediately with parts of the poisonous animal itself), when they have been stung by a scorpion. Without delay they seek out a living scorpion, squash it and place it immediately on the wound that has been artificially widened. At the same time the sick person is given a thin solution of tobacco juice as an emetic, on the basis of an unclear idea that this helps get the poison out of the body.

It seems that tobacco juice (pipe emery) when rubbed into the wound itself or into a cut next to it, is effective as an antidote for snake bites and scorpion stings.

One wonders whether there are other useful medicines to be found in the treasure chest of Hottentot medicines, in spite of their blind 757 278 tasting and the self deception of doctors and sick people among the natives.

The excrement of rock rabbits, °!aũ- /aru- b, which piles up fist high in caves is considered a cure for every kind of body retention. A piece

the size of a walnut is dissolved in about 1/3 liter of hot water and the drink is taken hot. It is supposed to cure constipation, inability to pass urine, irregular periods, and to further the discharge of lochia. In the same category belong the supposed effects of the so-called "stone sweat" which was mentioned earlier. 757 278

Their medicines for venereal diseases arouse as little confidence as the ones just mentioned. For protection against gonorrhea, [751] °!ga/ms, the man or woman rubs a knife tip's amount of a powder, which has been prepared from the roots of the °!garisab plant,°

> °When I am unable to mention the botanical name, I at least give the native designation which will be a help to later investigators. [128]

into a little wound cut to the right and to the left of the groin. They treat gonorrhea itself locally by dabbing the milky sap of the fresh leaves of a plant called °!gu/bi·b or °xam≠kxa/rab into the urethra. Or they dig up the plant and drink as much as possible of a hot infusion made of the crushed root.

It is recommended to syphilis patients that they drink a swallow of their own urine early in the morning. A tea made from the strongly aromatic [226] fleshy leaves of a Geraniaceae (as it seems) which smells strongly of turpentine is supposed to cure syphilis sores.

4. Magic

The medicinal art of the Hottentot is closely allied with magic. 755 Anyone who wishes to may become a doctor, called !gai·/aob or 756 magician. The Hottentot term is derived from the magic stuff, !gai/b, which he carries with him in a box. The vegetable ingredients of this stuff consists of roots of a most varied assortment of plants, the flesh and bones of different kinds of chameleons, elephant shrews, bats, and of a little bird of the family of Sylviidae (called ≠oregu) are dried, and placed sometimes in coarsely chopped form, sometimes pulverized in the raw fat of a billygoat, with which the magic box is filled. It is supposed to extract the effective substances from the various ingredients.

family happiness, is celebrated accordingly. The girl is separated from 881
the other inhabitants of the hut by a mat wall. She puts on her jewels, [582]
relatives and friends bring her arm rings and put chains of beads around her neck. Some of them are kept as presents. The parents slaughter and serve honey beer to the guests.

[296] Before the Hottentots adopted European clothing the girl exchanged her girl's apron for that of an adult; this custom has been abandoned. But another custom has still been maintained here and there where it could be concealed from the watchfulness of the mission. Males from 881
the smallest child to the aging man (old men are excused) have their scrota 751
rubbed with buchu power as a preventative for venereal disease by the girl menstruating for the first time. The practice of this custom is called */na·ra/kxa/ra·. (/kxa/ra·b = the testicles. */na·ra is the gentle stroking of the cow's udder, the calf of which is dead. It is supposed to have the effect of persuading the cow to give milk. The scrotum is rubbed just as gently with powder.)

When the first menstruation has ended, the girl is washed by a woman 881
from head to foot with wet cow manure (sheep manure is better) which 515
has been stirred to a thick porridge with a little milk. (cf. Care of the Body, p. 207). This stuff is smeared on the body in the usual way and rubbed in. It dries quickly on the warm skin and at the completion of the cleansing falls off of its own accord.

Thus cleaned, the girl comes out of the separate room of the hut. 881
This coming forth of the girl, *//a/m/ui (//a/m is the special term for 582
the above-described method of cleansing with manure. /u·i = to go out) is the visible sign to all the inhabitants that the girl has reached marriageable age. Up to the time of the first menstrual period the girl is considered a child, /gõ·as. But from that time until she is married she is called oaxes (not oaxais (57)).

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

The vanity of the girls is often employed in furthering the develop- 832
ment of their charms. The areola of the nipple is hard at the beginning 827
of puberty. A slightly stringy liquid can be squeezed out of the nipple with sufficient pressure. When the breasts are just beginning to develop, and the area around the nipples becomes firm, the girls squeeze out this liquid assiduously to further development of the breasts. The liquid that can be pressed out of the mammary glands at the time of the beginning of puberty is called *//gu·rurubeb.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of ●751 mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 824 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 824; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1/1 [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

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formerly a ewe was specially slaughtered for the occasion. This cooking is the first done on the fire since the girl entered the *kharu oms*. The *aba tarás* must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with everything she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal once more.[1] Then the *aba tarás* takes the fire, ashes and all, and dumps it far from the hut. She next sprinkles fresh sand on the hearth, and lays a new fire, which must not be lit from another, as is usually done when a fire goes out, but with flint or matches; originally no doubt the firesticks would have been used. The fire thus lit is no longer */nau*.

The girl is now ready to receive visitors as an *oaxais*, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is only lent, and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin, she is scented all over with the *buchu* she and her friends have ground, her face is painted in various curious patterns with red and white mineral powder mixed with fat, and her body is loaded with the presents. Then the young boys, even up to sixteen years of age and more, come into the hut from which they have hitherto been excluded, and go up to the newly-made *oaxais*. She takes her "powder-puff" full of *buchu*, and with it rubs each of them on his testicles. This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual diseases. This particular rite seems to be dying out, and nowadays is accounted for by the saying that until the boys have been rubbed in this way it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl. In consequence the younger boys especially go in eagerly, so that they may join in the feast!

The feasting reaches its climax this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten, and everybody, men and women, boys and girls alike, joins in this "feast of rejoicing". Hahn states that when the relatives appear for this final feast, the girl's nearest male relative (usually the eldest unmarried cousin) takes the fat of one of the heifers, hangs it over her head, and wishes that she

[1] The description of this part of the ceremony is taken from the version given by Mrs. Hoernlé in her more recent account ("Social Value of Water," 534). In the earlier version ("Conception of Issa," 72), she says that the cleansing of the girl and the change of clothing is made in front of the *!nau* fire, i.e. in the outer hut, and goes on to say: "Meanwhile, a ewe has been slaughtered, and one of the hind legs is given to the *aba tarás*. This she must now cook on the fire in the house. . . When the meat is cooked, it is eaten by the *aba tarás* and other women who, like her, are past childbearing. No one else touches it."

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoxon /Hutse	My ancestors' territory
/Goise /khai loa te re	Run nicely to meet me
aibe mutse	I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hei /Nun* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 519–20.

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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarés*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarés*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hei /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 519–20. [2] "The Nama," 133. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 518–19.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

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a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. In the former case, we have noted in various instances, things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself. But, though cold water has these protective powers, it is also highly dangerous to any one of the people in the condition of */nau*, a condition preventing him from participating in the full life of the society. Thus, sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people, and many others, are in a precarious state and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people are once more reintroduced to the full life of the tribe, they are specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over by someone well qualified to lend them strength, and so once more they take up their daily life in the tribe.[1]

All these usages are intelligible and form a harmonious whole if we realize that water is, of all the essentials of a social life, the most difficult for the Hottentots to provide, and that it is, therefore, one of their most important social possessions. The conception of *Tsui //Goab*, the attributes he possesses, the observances and prayers directed towards him, show that the same outstanding significance is attached to the rain and to the natural forces producing it, which constitute by far the most important source of water. As the giver of the rain, moreover, *Tsui //Goab* is also the source of the pasture necessary for the well-being of the cattle and the game, as well as of the edible roots and berries, and consequently he is intimately linked up with the subsistence of the people, prayers being addressed to him for food.

The figure of *Tsui //Goab* is still endowed in the consciousness of the Nama with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity. The same cannot be said of another famous mythical hero, *Heitsi Eibib*, *Heigeib*, *Heiseb* or *Kabib*. The name is generally interpreted "prophet" or "foreteller", from *heisi*, to tell, to give a message, to order, and *eibe*, beforehand, previously. Hahn derives it, however,

[1] Cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Naman," *passim*; *idem*, "South-West Africa," 27.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, ●751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an ǂâxais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is painted in curious patterns with ǃnaop and /qaoasb ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ǂâxais. She takes her /úros ǂmis ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (≠kurún). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. The full expression for this custom is /úros ǂmis /a /naru ("to rub gently with a powder puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ǂâxais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ǂâxais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abá taris must accompany the ǂâxais in all these rites, but often her friends go

[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 286.

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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769 has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of
787 circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these cere-
761 monies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as
by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing
[632] which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person
die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the
sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them
by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames
showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought.
761 He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called " the
782 little heart-tree " is endangered by death until he has atoned
for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth
from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

791 4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and
sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour
and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the
present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to
ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious
remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom
avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for
they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants
of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in
which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the
wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful
effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to
reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is
wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one
comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been
heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among
the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being
practised and has its believers.

751 The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means
uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they
are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.
Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are
regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain
health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things
are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often
they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply
called " Medicine."

751 When circumstances demand it they prepare these amu-
439 lets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their
own art that they would rather purchase them from the
Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

584 1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways.
The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl,
get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoy-
able negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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The other name for Sarés, the whirlwind, is //Gãuab, translated nowadays by the word devil, and having exactly this significance for the natives, owing to missionary influence. It is very difficult to get a complete understanding of what the natives originally understood by //Gãuab. In the mythology of the people //Gãuab is the evil chief who kills great numbers of Tsui //Goab's people, and Tsui //Goab is the great hero of the Nama and other Khoi Khoin tribes. Tsui //Goab went to war with //Gãuab and finally destroyed him by giving him a blow behind the ear. But though destroyed by Tsui //Goab, he came alive again, and one form of the legend tells the story as though the fight were an annual one. However that may be. //Gãuab is also connected with the /Heí /Nûn, in fact. /Gãunagu in the plural is simply another name for /Heí /Nûn, and old David Zwartboy, the present chief of his tribe, insisted very earnestly to me that the /Heí /Nûn were simply //Gãuab. "The names are two, but the thing is one," he said. David's views are strongly tinged by missionary teaching, and for him the /Heí /Nûn which troubled him so much when he had influenza are simply evil spirits sent by the devil to trouble him.

Further than this in the analysis I do not want to go here, but I think I have said enough to show that a whirlwind is a thing of evil omen, a form which the /Heí /Nûn or //Gãuab can take, and that it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken, and that those precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.

Again, when one is visiting an old locality of a tribe, one is exposed to all kinds of dangers. The ghosts of the //Náon, the ancestors, haunt the place and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. Thus, ten years ago I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. "I knew I should find you ill," she said, "and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:

'Ti //Náoxan !Hutse, (My ancestors' territory),

!Gãise !khoi ǂâa te re, (Run nicely to meet me),

Then all would have been well."

eibe mutsi.' (I see you first.)

In this case, the water is not sprinkled about or splashed on to the person, but from the water-hole wet clay is taken and put on to the body. I think the important thing here is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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751 823 182 territory by contact with its waters. A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and black from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely," as my informant put it. Here it would seem the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile /Hei /Nûn, and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility.

751 The use of soot black from the pots is also very interesting, but I do not want to go into many details here. It is always used as a sign that one is being admitted to the full life of the society, and so to its protection. Thus, one must put a black mark on a baby when it visits one's werft for the first time, otherwise it will be ill, and after a period of isolation from the full life of the tribe this black mark is always put on the forehead at the ceremonial meal which signalises the reintroduction to full social life.

754 756 823 [791] The next example is a little different. In the old days, there were among the Naman !Gèi Aogu, witch doctors, men who could cure people who had been bewitched, but who might also themselves resort to bewitching, and so make people ill or kill them. I have never myself met with a real !Gèi aop unfortunately, and it is very hard to get from the natives any account of their training or method of becoming !Gèi Aogu. The missionaries have exerted all their influence to prohibit the practices of the witch doctor, and it is probably hard to find a Nama to-day who really knows all the secrets of the profession. An old man of the Bondelzwart tribe told me that a child born with a caul might become a clever !Gèi aop, if he were given the caul to eat as a child. Others, however, have told me such a child became a gebo aop, a seer. In any case, it is certain that the !Gèi aop was considered in some way connected with the /Hei /Nûn, and therefore had an immunity which others had not. He could impart his immunity to others and so cure them of disease by inoculating them with his essence, as it were, which was contained in his body dirt and perspiration, and which he could scrape off as he needed it. The !Gèi Aop was, therefore, a person of considerable importance in a community, and was much respected so long as he used his power for good, but he might also use it for evil, causing sickness instead of curing it. Now, the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by //Gûaub,* or the /Hei /Nûn, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft practitioners, and one of the

* See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 87, and Peter Kolben, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 1718, p. 428.

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823 271 712 Sir James Alexander[1] tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narus, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!"

823 751 Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561 In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

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[1] *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 132.

* *Tsuni ǁGoam*, p. 77.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Name

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure in the rest is all.

Where a girl gets her first period, when she is said to khoré, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or buchu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

Kolben describes the operation of bleeding. First a thong was tied around the limb, and the vein opened below it. When enough blood had been drawn off, the incision was closed with mutton fat and the leaf of some herb placed over it. Alexander says that they were fond of bleeding, and the backs and sides of many were thickly scored with the knife. They were not over-particular about having a horn for cupping, the mouth frequently being used for that purpose. 757

The Nama cupping horn, as still in use, is a carefully prepared tip of ox horn open at both ends, with the broader end carefully bevelled from within outwards. The smaller end is closed with a ball of soft worked resin, which is pierced by a long thorn. The horn is applied to the scarified skin and the operator sucks hard. When suction is well established he bites the resin and so closes the aperture. The horn is left in place until the required amount of blood has been withdrawn. An exactly similar mode of using a similar instrument occurs in India. [[71]]

Cupping is used for colics and pains in the stomach. The patient lies on his back and the horn is first applied dry, that is, over the unscarified surface of the skin, to produce insensibility. The numbed part is then scarified. If the pain moves to another area, the part is rubbed with hot fat and again cupped. If this fails, an infusion of herbs is given to drink. In the old days, cupping horns were carried to draw out the poison from arrow wounds, and also a little bottle or horn of oil with which to wash the injury, but scarification and suction applied by the mouth was also in favour. Scarification and cupping are also used for the relief of madness and epilepsy.

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.

Preventive medicine was an important and extensive section of Hottentot medical lore and took the form of charms and incantations. When a child lost a milk tooth, he took the tooth, and standing facing the rising sun repeated the two lines:— 751

" P/gho c/ghoip Ba-oue D/kuoe
D/ghumba ma dae."

which may be translated, " Dassie, take my bone tooth and send me a stone tooth." The Dassie is the rock rabbit, on here there appears to be a double magical significance.

The remainder of the subject of charms, including those magic necklets to prevent attack by wild beasts or to prevent effect of witchcraft, can be considered correctly only in a separate article. But it is necessary to remember that there was no activity of Hottentot life which was not affected by signs, portents, charms or ritual, which he employed to foretell or warn of coming ill-luck, and which enabled him to prevent or remove the ill effects of them and of any other bad influence, whether believed by act of God or practice of witchcraft. 789

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is also P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Gunap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/keu D/han, the fleisch-hoech or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluitjies-boesh, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namia.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.*) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there [illegible].**)

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

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*) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Sy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stuffe Ianghuis Coral en Koper gelyk. ("They also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

**) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 280).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[77]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 309 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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77) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the karosses he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, op cit., 166 ff.)

78) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is mentioned by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, op cit., 70). [567] [751]

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis dîis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham ollâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis nâtibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ultimò hospites lautè prorsusque proline adripiuntur, seque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim asscici, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer alipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis buccularn attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos hartoli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta ajûrui spônturnîrio aut antistitae scientiâ morbusque caeteris conspectiori, venerîis lyrocinîis, Junonîisque offeliis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constent, edocet; demum ei pedes fîlii carnae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecta, sub quo haec sacra peragantur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, haruspex aut Flamen nodos nectunt, vervedis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, rorumdemque vestes unctae

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(*) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the Amaxhosa: I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

(**) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[*1]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[*2]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of minister and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

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and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aeque feliciter ac nostrates cucurbitulis, ore exugunt: hoc modo Afram vix bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exsurisse calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus accipio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroborato, sacerdos sive haruspex omnem comam novaculâ abradit, postea illum viridibus foliis, nostratium salicis affinibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti perlitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulviculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae intorto, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, amictuque pinguedine inuncto, et bochu pulvere consperso sanum salvumque convivatorem dimittit, et in aestrum lautè aetertis cum amicis excipitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earundemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes illo e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, altum sopitas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obductas, veternosas catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem stertere. Tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronunciant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursum planè ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

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751 752 755 [44]) Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (cf. Schapera, op. cit., 407, 409 ff.) The sucking to which G. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient (Schapera, 388).